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SUBJECT: Secretary Clinton's May 7, 2009 Meeting with
Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov.

11. Classified by EUR Assistant Secretary Daniel Fried.
Reason: 1.4 (d)

12. (U) May 7, 2009; 12:00pm; Washington, DC, United
States.

13. (S) Participants:

U.S.
The Secretary
Under Secretary Burns
NSC Senior Russia Director McFaul
EUR Assistant Secretary Fried
Ambassador Beyrle
PA DAS Kelly
EUR/RUS Director Watson (Notetaker)

RUSSIA
Foreign Minister Lavrov
Ambassador Kislyak
Deputy Foreign Minister Ryabkov
Deputy Foreign Minister Saltanov
North American Dept. Director Neverov
Head of Foreign Minister's Secretariat Ivanov
Information and Press Counselor Zakharova
Russian Embassy Counselor Stepanov (Notetaker)

14. (S) SUMMARY. The Secretary met with Foreign Minister
Lavrov for one hour on May 7. By the time of the
Summit, now set for July 6-7, they agreed to work to
complete the substantive report on START, agreements on
Material Consolidation and Conversion and Plutonium
Disposal, and a presidential "Joint Nuclear Security
Statement." They also agreed to pursue a follow on work
plan on nuclear facilities. Agreement was near on the
economic dialogue. Both sides agreed to follow up on
JDEC, military to military cooperation and a lethal
transit agreement on Afghanistan. END SUMMARY.

Secretary/Lavrov Meeting

15. (S) The Secretary said the Presidents' July meeting
provided an opportunity for significant progress forward
in relations, including ambitious agenda the Presidents
had instructed them to undertake when they met April 1
in London. The July meeting was set for Moscow on July
6-7 with departure July 8. She and Foreign Minister
Lavrov agreed that the White House and Kremlin would
coordinate announcement next week of the dates.

16. (S) START: The Secretary repeated the goal set by the
presidents, namely a substantive report on the status of
the START negotiations at the time of the July summit.
We had made a good start in negotiations; she had
received good reports from our negotiator in Rome.
Noting that further talks were set May 19-21 in Moscow
and June 2-4 in Geneva, Lavrov said that completing the
Framework Agreement will be a challenge in that time
period, but we should encourage our teams to get it
done. Russia's military would need to review specific
language. Acknowledging the challenge of meeting the
summit deadline, the Secretary said she wanted best

efforts from both sides as agreed in London. Lavrov said that the negotiators need substance from the agencies. Once the START deal was reached, he proposed reaffirming with the Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan that the 1994 Budapest Agreement guarantees remained in full force. The Secretary agreed that U.S.-Russia leadership in this area was key.

17. (S) Nuclear Security and Non-Proliferation: The Secretary proposed collaborating on a presidential "joint nuclear security statement" to share best practices world wide as well concluding agreements on Material Consolidation and Conversion and Plutonium Disposal. Lavrov concurred with drafting a joint nuclear security statement. He noted that the Presidents had already agreed on the substance of the material draft. He called for making as much progress on non proliferation as possible and said that at NPT PrepCom the five UNGA members who possess nuclear weapons need to take the lead. As another example of how the United States and Russia are responsible stewards of nuclear stockpiles and seeking further steps on non-proliferation, the Secretary noted that resubmission to the Congress of the 123 Agreement was under consideration, but progress on these other steps would help. Expressing hope for a response to the non-paper on the UNSC 1540 process for non-state actors he passed in Geneva, Lavrov noted that G8, OSCE, and UNSC could all discuss the matter. The Secretary agreed that proliferation is among the most pressing threats we face and said that having the Summit focus on this would send a strong message. Lavrov encouraged the U.S. to move forward to ratify CTBT because it would remove a pretext that other countries hide behind. McFaul noted that the Administration was discussing this with Congress. Lavrov raised U.S. plans about ratification of the CTBT; NSC Senior Director McFaul responded that the Administration intended to approach the Congress about it. Lavrov hoped this process could be completed before the NPT Review Conference in 2010.

18. (S) Joint Data Exchange Center (JDEC): The Secretary said that the United States wants to bring into effect the June 2000 agreement that expires in 2010. To do so would require finding a new site for which she was prepared to send a delegation to Moscow in mid-May. Lavrov said he would need to discuss this with the military.

19. (S) Missile Defense: Noting that the Missile Defense review would soon be complete, the Secretary expressed hope for more cooperation on MD. Lavrov reminded her that he was still waiting for a response on the non-paper he had passed her in The Hague which built on the proposal for a cooperative MD approach Putin made at Kennebunkport in July 2007 (that approach offered some access to Russian radar facilities in southern Russia and Azerbaijan, but was predicated on U.S. abandonment of any MD sites in Poland and the Czech Republic as a pre-condition). He called for looking at theatre missile defense in a cooperative manner. The Secretary called his objective worthy and said both nations could turn cooperation into increased global security. She pointed out that some who possess or are seeking nuclear weapons do not share our values. Lavrov agreed. He stressed, however Russia does not accept the American linkage between the MD third site and the Iranian threat. Russian analysis, he said, demonstrates that the Polish/Czech location is not directed at Iran but at Russia. Russia was not complacent about Iran's technology. President Medvedev had been concerned about Iran's missile launch which had shown a greater level of capability than expected, and Russia will be watching Iranian developments closely. This argued for a collective missile system. He added that one could not say MD was an area of difference between the U.S. and Russia until after the U.S. had finished its MD review.

¶10. (S) Bilateral Architecture and Dialogues: Lavrov noted that in addition to post-START and nuclear security/non-proliferation initiatives, the July Summit should include launch of an economic dialogue and the Presidents' endorsement of the bilateral "Action Plan" being worked on by the two governments. Assistant Secretary Fried confirmed that we appeared to be close to agreement on the Action Plan. Noting that MOD was ready to revive high-level military-to-military discussions, Lavrov suggested that he and the Secretary place the military-to-military dialogue, including General Staff talks for which the Russian MOD was now ready, under the broader umbrella of a Foreign Minister's-led umbrella group. Lavrov continued that he and the Secretary should consider whether to continue the 2+2 format. It might be difficult to schedule such a meeting in June; doing so in the fall would be better, he said. The Secretary said the USG was considering the broad umbrella proposal as well as 2+2, and would get back to the Russians. We did support robust military-to-military exchanges. Lavrov added that the mil-mil dialogue was included in the action plan and reporting through foreign ministers to the presidents was possible. Under Secretary Burns agreed that it was logical.

¶11. (S) European Security: The Secretary expressed willingness to discuss Russia's views on European Security in an appropriate forum and to hear its ideas. She urged Lavrov to help get the NATO Russia Council (NRC), a meeting of which Russia had just canceled, back on track. Lavrov clarified that Russia did not cancel any NRC meeting, but said that the timing had not been settled when the "unfortunate" developments (NATO's expulsion of two Russian diplomats due to espionage-related activity). This was a provocation, he claimed, that had put the Russians in the unfortunate position of having to ask the Canadians to leave the NATO Information Office in Moscow, he said. We should, Lavrov, continued, use all available structures to discuss European security, including President Medvedev's ideas. He stressed that Russia did not want to undermine existing security structures and sought to be sure no one felt uncomfortable. It was possible as well to involve NGOs, such the East-West Institute led by John Mroz.

¶12. (S) Afghanistan: Lavrov said that Russia was ready to discuss Afghanistan in line with what the Presidents had said in London. The Secretary expressed interest in transit of lethal and non-lethal equipment to Afghanistan through Russia and said the U.S. wanted to negotiate this. She added that Russian air navigation fees were a problem. There are other ways to cooperate such as on border issues she continued. The Afghanistan Pakistan Talks sought to increase the sense that those two countries need to cooperate on border security and to open transit routes.

¶13. (S) DPRK: In a brief exchange, the Secretary and Lavrov agreed to continue cooperation; the Secretary expressed appreciation for Russia's recent efforts. Lavrov noted that China was considering changing the format of the six party talks as a way to get the DPRK back to the table. Lavrov suggested that we not run after the DPRK so that they could save face when they reengaged.

¶14. (S) Middle East: The Secretary noted that Ambassador Rice would attend Russia's Middle East Conference May 11 in New York. She encouraged Lavrov to work through the quartet and bilateral partnership and through the UN. This month Netanyahu and Abbas will come to Washington. Postponing engagement with the Palestinians is no longer possible, she added. She expressed appreciation for Russia's efforts. Lavrov said that the joint statement for the New York conference should be finished soon and Russia was

pushing the Arabs to compromise. A resolution on the settlements was critical. The Europeans would accept anything that comes out of this. The Secretary agreed to work through the Israeli community in the US and encouraged Lavrov to work through the Russian Israeli community in the US to impress on the Israelis how problematic this was becoming.

¶15. (S) Iran: Noting that while there was still no proof that Iran was developing nuclear weapons, Lavrov said Russia wanted Iran to join the NPT now. He expressed hope the latest Political Directors meeting in London would stimulate Iran to go back to the negotiating table. The Secretary said the United States takes seriously Israel's fear of Iran and its intentions (and developing capabilities) and sought to engage Iran through the P5+1. She was sending messages to Iran through various channels. Lavrov said that if the U.S. dealt with Iran comprehensively and directly, it could not avoid dealing with Israel.

¶16. (S) Georgia: Lavrov stated that both the U.S. and Russia want stability in the Caucasus, and that we should not allow it to divide us, adding that the Georgians "deserve better". He was concerned about the latest developments, including that Georgia had "canceled" the incident prevention mechanism with the South Ossetians scheduled for May 7 because "they wanted it in their territory." (Note: The Geneva agreement was that sessions should rotate. At the first prevention mechanism meeting on April 29, all parties agreed that the May 7 meeting would be held in Gori, but on the eve of the meeting the South Ossetians announced that they would not attend meetings in Georgia proper. End note.) In response to the Secretary's question on the Russian position on the OSCE and UNOMIG in Georgia, Lavrov replied that a continuous presence in South Ossetia would be useful, and Russia would like the OSCE to help stabilize and monitor the situation, prevent human rights violations and ethnic clashes. Assistant Secretary Fried refuted Lavrov's claim that the Russian proposal to the Greeks was status neutral, noting that the Greeks did not see it that way. Using familiar arguments, Lavrov maintained that the South Ossetians no longer trust the OSCE, and as they are the victims in this situation, "we cannot demand anything from them." Turning to UNOMIG, Lavrov reported that Russia is waiting for UN Secretary General's report on Georgia, due on May 15, but assumed that the UNOMIG mandate will be renewed with a focus on confidence building measures and using UN observers wherever possible.

¶17. (S) Transnistria: The Secretary expressed appreciation for Russia's continued efforts in the Minsk Group. Lavrov noted that talks were going on in Prague May 7 among the three co chairs (U.S., Russia and France). Assistant Secretary Fried committed to maintaining the momentum.

¶18. (S) Nagorno-Karabakh: With the recent Turkey and Armenia normalization agreement, the Secretary expressed hope that we could soon achieve a breakthrough in the NK negotiations, and in particular on the Lachin corridor. Lavrov urged a strong push to settle Nagorno-Karabakh this year before the next election cycle. The Secretary agreed, saying that Presidents Obama and Medvedev should push to achieve finalization of the Basic Principles this year. Lavrov urged a strong push to settle Nagorno-Karabakh this year before the next election cycle in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

¶19. (S) Other Issues

WTO: The Secretary said that the U.S. was ready to engage on WTO with Russia. USTR Kirk could discuss what is needed to finalize WTO accession when he is at the St. Petersburg Economic Forum in June.

Rule of Law: The Secretary said she was pleased that Medvedev met with human rights groups and an opposition newspaper. Noting that Paul Klebnikov's family had recently visited her, she called for continued work on this case. Lavrov responded that Russia was prepared to discuss human rights issues, and welcomes pragmatic, depoliticized mechanisms like the channel through the Carnegie Endowment and Russia's Human Rights Ombudsman (Ambassador Lukin). He also urged that the U.S. and Russia support one another's candidates for the UN Human Rights Council.

Jackson Vanik: The Secretary noted that the U.S. was making a concerted effort to work with Congress to graduate Russia from the strictures of the Jackson Vanik Amendment. Lavrov replied that it was a U.S. problem and Russia would not raise it anymore.

Arctic: The Secretary called for deeper cooperation on the Arctic. She asked Lavrov to permit a National Science Foundation expedition to take core samples from two sites in the Bering Sea in July. He replied that a formal request was needed. He agreed on the need to cooperate on the Arctic as noted in Geneva and as the Presidents noted. The Five Arctic Littoral States should show leadership in the Arctic Council.

Visas: Lavrov mentioned the request for visas for Kobzon and Derispaska. If the U.S. has derogatory information about Viktor Bout, now in custody in Thailand, it should share this with Russia.

Pirates: Lavrov proposed a new tribunal for trying pirates. The Secretary agreed to look into it.

Ship visit: Lavrov noted that Russia approved the visit of a USN ship to Vladivostok on Victory Day.

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